

What Price Security?

CÉCILE PILPEL

WE are always chasing rainbows. With every new scientific discovery we seem to get renewed assurance for our faith in a heaven on earth, for our belief that we are moving toward an easier and happier life. As parents especially we are alert to profit by every added contribution from the field of hygiene, education and psychology. Sometimes one, sometimes another seems to lead; now it is nutrition, again progressive schooling, or a change in emphasis from psychology.

There was a time not so very long ago when, on the impetus of current studies of children's needs, "happiness" became our goal. Though we never really believed that all the people could be happy all the time, we thought that if they could be kept happy in childhood, they would have a better start. Again the rainbow faded. Discovering that a "completely happy" childhood was no more possible than a "completely happy" anything else, we sought another goal. Partly because the times were out of joint, partly because we had really learned something about our deeper needs from psychology, many of us set up "security" as the be-all and end-all of child training. By this we meant inner security, and in seeking it for our children we were impelled both by our consciousness of its tremendous importance in our own adult lives, and also by the psychologist's reiterated emphasis on its imperative necessity for the child.

All this is in sharp contrast to another equally too simple attitude; confronted with the sheer impossibility of making children secure at every turn, some people have said, in effect, "Let them learn to stand on their own feet; let them fight their own battles; let them see what the world is like. They must get toughened as early as possible if they are to bear the hurly-burly of school and adult life."

Life would be comparatively simple if we could gear it thus for either security or conflict. But since

the world is as it is, our education and training will have to develop in us a smoothly working gear-shift and a good machine in which to use it. The child, as well as the adult, will have to learn to live constructively through insecurity and conflict, as well as through security.

Complete security is probably not to be found outside of the walls of institutions for the mentally unbalanced. To set it up unequivocally as a goal spells mental and emotional regression just as certainly as continuous unresolved conflict leads to emotional disintegration. Yet parents are likely to put all the plus signs on the side of security and to forget that it is only by balancing the score through conflict that human beings can develop stamina to make choices. It is true that children need security, but like many other undeniable truths, this has brought its own difficulties. To many security, like happiness, has seemed to demand reiterated assurance to the child of their love for him, a continuous preoccupation with his needs and wishes, a smoothing of every path, a solicitous concern about every new friend and every fresh experience. Not only the parents themselves, but also relatives and acquaintances, have been drilled as to just what they should and should not do and say in the child's presence. But not all grown-ups can live up to this uncompromising standard of play-acting; they persist in making "faux pas," to their own and the parent's consternation. Equally well laid plans for the coming of a new baby, for the first day at school—for whatever adjustments must inevitably be made at home or abroad—have "gang agley."

We shall have to come to a fresh understanding of what kind of security is valid and of what kind of conflict is constructive. This is particularly important today in a world which has taken away so many of the old props, and has exaggerated so many of the inescapable problems. Almost kaleidoscopic eco-

nomic changes have overwhelmed many of us, and have uncovered festering emotional insecurities. No one would pretend that these upheavals have not made us less sure; but they have also presented us with ready-made alibis for all our troubles. Often enough what looks like the workings of malign chance is at least in part the product of emotional conflict, our own or someone else's. Just as an earthquake affects our "innards" though we may escape physical injury, so also this shaking of the social and economic structure affects our convictions about the soundness of all our relationships, even if we are apparently unharmed.

The inner meaning of marriage, for instance, or of business or professional life, does not necessarily follow the conventional definition. Not only young people, but their parents, have been feeling once solid ground rock beneath them. There is insecurity wherever we turn—whether we try to hang on to old beliefs that others are casting aside, or whether we let ourselves go with the crowd. Even if we have the courage to try to come to conclusions with life according to the dictates of our own intellect and conscience, we shall not achieve absolute security. Where then shall we find courage to stand alone, if need be, to march out of step with the parade? And what can we do to cultivate courage in our children?

That Which Endures

AMONG its many functions religion serves as one of the strongest supports of individual security in a hostile world. Since security can at best be only relative, it is not to be wondered at that man is everlastingly in search of something outside of "the known" to which he may turn as a refuge and a hope. There is a profound element of "the unknown" within ourselves. Psychology, and in particular the findings of psychoanalysis, have made it clear that this fundamental paradox between security and conflict is not imposed upon us from without, but is part and parcel of human nature. On the basis of this understanding, we can begin to distinguish "pseudo-security" from that which has validity, and to see more clearly some of the ways in which we may be of real service to our children.

We know, for instance, that the child who is truly wanted and loved may start out with an inestimable advantage. But we cannot love our children blindly; we must constantly ask how we can help them to a realization of their individual capacities, to concepts of life that are worth living for and to which they will be willing to contribute their best efforts.

Our growing concern has also made us acutely aware of the innumerable examples of the unwanted

and unloved child, and we have seen how frequently he is unable to overcome this initial devastating handicap. And yet all of us have known outstanding exceptions to this rule—individuals unloved in childhood, who, though scarred, have not only survived, but have become outstanding human beings. Can we assume that some inner quality of spirit helped them to maintain a degree of balance? A study of such lives would no doubt lead to a better understanding of fundamentals of personality development and would help us to avoid "killing with kindness."

We cannot begin too early or too simply. The mother's earliest training of the infant is the obvious starting point. A bottle given by someone else instead of by the mother will help, for instance, to accustom the child to look to others occasionally. Leaving the child with some other person as he grows and develops, bringing other children into his life as early as possible (even at the risk of the measles or chicken-pox) will help him to cope with the undercurrent of insecurity implied by the mother's absence. By the time a child so trained is five, he should have attained a certain inner poise; one little boy, more articulate perhaps than some, used to let his mother leave him with no more of a warning than, "Come back soon, don't let yourself be delayed."

There are many other familiar situations which may cause unnecessary insecurity if they are not wisely handled. For instance, any quality of physical appearance or of mental capacity which singles out a child as "different" carries with it a burden which is inescapable. In the wider contacts of the growing child's world, at school and play, he will soon have to come to terms with his possible limitations in one way or another. It may be spelling; it may be lack of muscular coordination; or it may be straight hair. True enough, the child who feels secure in his parents' affection will have less difficulty, but very often the child senses that his peculiarities affect his parents' security as well as his own. Stressing abilities as against disabilities, showing our recognition of capabilities and helping to cultivate them are good as far as they go. The child, however, is still left alone with the awareness of his limitations. Whether learning to accept oneself is a positive or negative experience depends in part on the attitude of parents, on whether their love is defeatist, or far seeing and sufficiently courageous to permit each child to be himself. But it also depends on qualities of character which we value, but do not yet wholly understand.

Psychology has not uncovered all the secrets of human personality. To be sure, it behooves us as intelligent parents to study its findings and recommendations with care, so that we may be guided

toward better procedures in our daily living with our children and with other adults. We can do this with safety if we will but remember the limitations, as well as the very real contributions, of all scientific study, and particularly of one which is in its infancy. Like most new sciences, psychology may be claiming too much, without recognizing the intangibles it has not yet encompassed. And because it has already been of so much help, perhaps the lay public has also expected too much of it. But even the most profound study of psychology can only indicate what is needed; we cannot yet make maps and diagrams of complex human organisms, to say nothing of their effects on one another in all their varieties of relatedness.

We shall be fortunate if we find some measure of emotional security in our intimate relationships. But since we are, let us hope, growing beings, we cannot expect it even here to be uninterrupted. In order to live with ourselves and others despite our limitations, we shall have to develop an inner sense of our own worth and dignity as human beings. Only if we can face reality on this basis, can we hold fast to values

of fundamental worth. Whatever else each of us includes among these fundamentals, we shall probably all find that we must make a place for honesty in our relationships with others, and for a sympathetic understanding and appreciation of the difficulties which make for conflict within ourselves and between ourselves and others. Such an understanding will not come of itself, nor is it inherent in the tenets and procedures of child training, valuable as these are. Whether we call it religion or a philosophy of life, we still need a sounding board against which to project the rise and fall of our spirit, and from which to catch the subtle overtones of life which give it meaning. How else shall we find sanctions to sustain us in carrying on through the insecurities that come from within, as well as from social and economic change?

Bertrand Russell is quoted as saying to a psychologist-educator: "Your goal for children appears to be that they should achieve sanity. I wish my children to be not only sane, but also civilized."

To become increasingly civilized in its fullest sense is the best promise for increasing inner security.

Parents and Children

Many of the difficulties of adult life—in business, in marriage and in parenthood—have their roots in childhood; the fact that parents are increasingly aware of this is a most hopeful sign for the future.

MARION E. KENWORTHY

PARENTS are no longer much given to "leaving their children on the psychiatrist's doorstep," expecting them to be "cured" forthwith of misbehavior. More and more of them, when faced with a problem beyond their own solving, are ready to admit that probably they, rather than their children, are the ones who need help. This growing realization on the part of parents that the causes of many problems lie deep within the parent-child relationship offers more hope of adjustment than any other factor.

The change in the parents' attitude follows, and in large part has grown out of a changing point of view regarding training among professional workers in mental hygiene. Fifteen or more years ago when psychiatrists began to take an interest in child guidance, they spent their best efforts on finding cures for bed-wetting, or thumbsucking, or temper tantrums, or run-

ning away. But at the same time they were struck with an important discovery in their work with adult neuroses and psychoses. They found that these mental upsets did not seem to be the results of immediate experiences, but of problems that had remained unresolved since childhood. As a result they have moved away from their original preoccupation with symptoms toward the realization that certain kinds of behavior, both in childhood and later life, are the overt expression of deeper causes. They have now come to realize that actually one gets nowhere merely by treating these overt symptoms. They have therefore tried more and more to associate the beginnings of things, and to treat these beginnings in an attempt to produce a more wholesome personality, whether in the adult or in the child. In dealing with childhood difficulties they have sought not only to remedy but to

prevent. This emphasizes the necessity of going back to the parent.

We all know parents who have to live their emotional lives through their children, who say, "Johnny is so like me; he has all my characteristics. I can so completely understand him."

Perhaps the difficulties of their own childhood have left with them a strong impulse to protect him from everything. The overprotected child frequently develops the kind of essential dependency which interferes with reality; life cannot be sweet all the time, and he will find it too difficult to achieve a balance between the bitter and the sweet, to accept the unpalatable in life along with the palatable.

Every psychiatrist knows countless cases in which a problem of child behavior resolves itself into one of parental mishandling arising from this wish to protect the child. Here, for instance, is a seven-year-old boy who quite suddenly began to set fire to his mother's clothes and to slash them with a razor blade.

When asked why, he said, "I don't know; I'm terribly sorry; I just felt I had to do it."

His mother, being fortunately aware that such symptoms call for insight rather than for punishment, went to a psychiatrist. In the course of their talk she said that she wondered if the boy's upset was related to a recent episode in which she had spanked him severely for masturbation and had threatened him with still more dire punishment if he persisted. She admitted that from her own childhood she had "never been able to get this sex business straight." Seeing her son beginning, as she thought, something which portended everything that to her was disgusting, she had almost literally threatened him with "fire and sword." How directly he had carried over that threat into his own behavior, his compulsion to burn and cut made evident. On the basis of this mother's real readiness to meet her own emotional problems, an adjustment was happily possible for both parent and child, and this boy did not long continue his alarming depredations.

"Father to the Man"

THIS does not imply that we are "to blame" for what may happen to our children. Perhaps it will help our personal egos a little if we realize that we are all the products of our own childhood experience. We need to face very frankly the fact that each of us in our childhood had conflicts in our relationships to our parents—conflicts growing out of rejection, insecurity, overprotection, jealousy and so on. We must also face the fact that in our total life experience there is nothing we forget. Many of the emotional reactions and prejudices which parents show in their relation-

ships to each other and to their children reflect these unresolved conflicts of their own childhood.

But it is no wonder that parents seldom know the basis for their emotional difficulties, since their beginnings are often obscured by the very fact of their infantile origin. Some parents, for example, have certain ritualistic attitudes, such as a program of cleanliness that is "next to godliness." There are indeed persons who would actually rather be clean than be godly, because the so-called dirt has taken over meanings rooted in feelings of guilt, which began in infancy, but persisted into adult life. Sometimes these originate from relatively insignificant sex conflicts, such as an early experience with masturbation or some other sex play, which brought down horrified condemnation from parents. Perhaps as a child the individual was told that such things were dirty or disgusting, and that he must wash himself. Washing, which has become symptomatic of the wish to be free from guilt, thus becomes a ritualistic part of his later parental attitudes toward his own children.

Children are affected more strongly by the parents' emotions than by any intellectual concepts they may achieve. Parents may have read every recommended book and yet, when the child's behavior touches them to the quick, their own reactions may still reflect their childhood conflicts. This accounts for an important and often puzzling phenomenon of parent education. It is relatively simple to teach parents the necessary facts about child development and child management. There are many excellent books which suggest wise and intelligent ways of feeding, of weaning, of habit training and of managing problems of discipline. It is simple for intelligent people to absorb this material by intellectual effort and to become glib in carrying out the letter of such instructions as appeal to them. But emotional readaptation, which is the essence of parent education, demands an adjustment above and beyond the acquisition of purely factual knowledge.

There is a kind of selectivity as between parents and the particular educational theories they take to. For example, some ten years ago a good many parents became tremendously interested in the teachings of the behavioristic school of psychology. They attempted to follow out its suggestions literally with very young children. Watching these parents, one notes that they fall roughly into three general types: In the first group are those who have relatively little impulse to show affection to their children, even perhaps a strong desire to reject them. The behavioristic dictum that parents must bring up their children without demonstrations of affection therefore fits their own personal needs. Another group includes those who feel an exaggerated drive to tie their children to them on a

dependent emotional level. Out of the conflict between this drive and their desire not to indulge it, they starve their children, because they want so much to overload them on the emotional side. As a third grouping of these so-called modern parents, we see some who must needs use their children to extend their own egos.

Too Much of a Good Thing

Look, for instance, at a child of four brought to the guidance clinic by her nursery school teacher because, so the teacher said, she had no personality. She was described as the brightest child the school had ever had; she was *too* efficient; but she made no contacts with the children or with her teacher except to follow orders, and never offered any suggestions for play activities. The teacher felt that the child was progressively losing interest and was becoming more and more isolated. The mother and father were both very intellectual; one was an instructor in a university, the other a research worker. They were greatly upset by the teacher's report, because they felt that, as modern parents, they had followed instructions quite perfectly. The child, a charming looking little thing, was never kissed by anyone. At the age of one and a half she was able to undress herself, come down stairs to say good night, and then go up and tuck herself into bed. About this time a sudden illness of the mother's made it necessary to send the little girl to her grandmother, who lived at some distance, and who therefore had not entered the picture before. The grandmother, one of those simple, kindly people well steeped in good common sense and sympathy for children, gave her the kind of warmth she had never before known. At once the child began to lose all her spectacular little tricks of "independence." She forgot how to dress herself, how to feed herself, how to put herself to bed. One might have said the grandmother was doing a beautiful job of spoiling. But by the time the child came back at the end of a month, she was a warm and outgoing person, interested in children and responsive to adults. In time she picked up her little tricks again; but underneath the mechanical structure a real person remained.

The picture was convincingly interpreted to the parents by the psychiatrist. They were able to get some real insight into the underlying motives for their own behavior, as shown in their need to be intellectually in the vanguard of "modern parenthood." And with the two children who have since come to them, they have not repeated the same mistake. Although this story is a little extreme, it is an enlightening picture of the reaction of some parents to the interdiction on

"coddling." We see many kinds and degrees of exaggeration in the way parents accept such edicts and shape them to their own ends.

Another place where parents project their own needs into their children's lives is in their use of authority. We often see conflicts, particularly among young adults, which are the result of moralistic over-emphasis on authority. Even parents who are well adjusted to each other, who have come out of a fine social background and who have high ideals for their children, who, in a word, take their job of parenthood seriously, are not always free from such misconceptions and misuse of authority. It is in families like this that we often find the proverbial "minister's son," or daughter, in open and unblushing revolt against all the social and moral concepts for which their parents stand. For a good many of those who are now parents all of childhood was colored by some sort of exaggerated moralistic over-authority.

The Velvet Glove

THE man or woman who comes out of such a home is likely to say, "When I marry and have children, they will never be exposed to this bitter experience. I'll let them make up their own minds."

Because their own personalities have been given a negative impetus, they now swing to the opposite extreme. As exponents of "freedom" they take a text from progressive education and interpret it to mean what they need to make it mean. These are the parents who never say "no," but who imply by a gentle kind of coercion, which is never recognized by them as coercive, that the child must make his own decisions. An attitude of non-control except by love is the chief expression of this parent-child relationship.

Out of one such family comes a girl, now twenty-seven, who is distressed because she cannot make up her mind to marry. She has been engaged three times, but has broken off each engagement at the last moment. Both parents seemingly have given her all kinds of freedom from childhood. They have consistently refrained from ever exposing the child to any coercive attitudes. They have never exposed her to any overt authoritative dictation. Throughout her life each issue which has arisen between her will-to-do and her parents' wishes has been met with a passive non-resistance by the parents. With no outward sign of authoritative pressure they have turned each decision back upon her with the suggestion that they trusted her to make the *right* choice. The growing child's response was invariably the choice of a course of action which she felt would please the parents. This pattern of response has remained consistent. Out of her deep at-

tachment to her parents she continues to reject a possible personal choice for one which she feels is acceptable to them.

As she progresses in her psychiatric re-educational efforts she frequently says, "If they had only given me some justification for occasional revolt, how much simpler my life might have been."

In the first type of family, where the parental authority is moralistic and rigid, children are bound to find at adolescence that their parents are not infallible. They feel justified in revolting, because of their discovery that parents are not all they seem. In the second type, where the only authority is the velvet gloved, but no less iron, hand of loving coercion, young people become so tied to their parents that, like the young woman just described, they are unable to develop into free and independent individuals, without assuming a burden of guilt which in itself makes freedom impossible. If in such a situation the parent appears to the child to be on a pedestal, a personage perfect beyond reproach, the child may still resent this gentle pressure. Yet he does not dare revolt openly because the parent has never given him any apparent justification. Instead of freeing himself from conflict, he blames himself because he can hate a parent who is so loving. Such situations place upon the child a burden which we cannot measure. It puts upon his conscience the responsibility of being his own punisher. Actually the danger is that these so-called intellectual parents, who have interpreted modern educational method as a theory of letting children make their own decisions and discover life for themselves, are building up in them the kind of inner conscience which was for generations a burden to our forefathers, and from which we have spent a long time trying to free ourselves.

This is not a plea for punishment, but for the exercise of an authority which guides the child yet leaves him emotionally free. Such a balance between authority and freedom cannot be based on the parents' own needs and lacks, as reflected in either moralistic prejudices or "advanced" ideas. The question of authority comes back to a very simple principle of emotional response. If in the whole relationship of parent and child there is an essential kind of understanding, an assurance of being loved, the parent is free to insist that the child accept certain things simply because the parent says so. Naturally, the child often resents this. But if the parent has shown that he himself is only human and has human failings, the child feels free to be resentful because the parent himself sometimes feels the same way. Emotionally mature parents, who can accept these occasional feelings of resentment, both in themselves and in their children, without

weighting them with too much guilt on either side, do not have to be so self-conscious about the particular method they use. In other words, it is impossible for a parent, without insight into his own emotional problems, to arrive at an objective and constructive attitude toward his child's problems.

If parents have emotional balance, if their lives as individuals and as marriage partners have reached a certain measure of fulfillment, they will be able to prevent or at least to mitigate some kinds of conflict. Since most of those which we have already discussed are the reflection of the parents' own childhood conflicts, men and women who are emotionally ready for parenthood will be forearmed. There are still other phases of the family relationship in which the potential conflict is even more deeply rooted. One of these—the rivalry between older and younger children—has been discussed in detail in another article.* Another has to do with the child's early emotional capacity to identify himself or herself with the parent of the same sex, and to establish a love relationship with the parent of the opposite sex. Both of these adjustments are vital if the child is to accept the role of the sexes in his own pattern of life.

Learning to Love

It is necessary for the girl to have such a fruitful relationship with her mother that she shall wish to be a girl. If the girl is to identify herself with the mother, it is also necessary for her to have a complete sense of her own freedom to love both parents and of their love for each other. The same security is equally necessary for the boy. To be sure, we do not often hear the girl's familiar "wish I was a boy" reversed, with the boy consciously desiring to be a girl, due perhaps to the superior satisfactions of "he-manishness" even in childhood. But underneath this social convention which eases the boy's adjustment, there is often a lack of identification with the father which makes the boy's adjustment incomplete by just so much.

The acceptance of love for the parent of the opposite sex is an equally necessary experience if the child is to develop into a normal adult. But because the girl child has identified herself with her mother, the boy, with his father, love for the other parent does result in a "triangle;" for when two males love one woman, or two females, one man, there is always an element of biological competition. The more secure the parents, the earlier this appears. Books are likely to suggest that it is "normal" between ten and twelve;

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* *Rivalry Between Children in the Same Family.* p. 233.

Rivalry Between Children in the Same Family

The coming of a new baby creates a crisis, which affects all of the child's relationships—with the family and the world at large.

DAVID M. LEVY

FROM a study of family relationships and from experimental investigation, it seems clear that the sight of a new baby in the mother's arms is a most frequent stimulus of primitive hostile feeling in the older child. The actual response of the child during this first experience is sometimes expressed in a very direct manner. Three-year-old Mary, her mother tells us, swore at the baby when she saw it for the first time, and shouting, "Get away from my ninny (breast)!" she ran with a hammer to kill it. John, aged four, who was prepared for the coming of the baby by advance information and appeals to his new important status as older brother, burst into tears when the great event took place. More usual direct responses are derogatory remarks like, "He can't play with my things," "Send him back again," "We don't need a baby" and so on. Hostile responses may be delayed until the baby comes into its second year and becomes a more obvious threat as a talking and self-assertive individual.

The response to the newcomer most commonly appears indirectly in the form of temper tantrums, and characteristically in a number of symptoms we call regressive, in the sense that the older child resumes symptoms of wetting, food and sleep disturbances and other difficulties which had previously been solved. Such regressive symptoms are often attributed to a wish on the part of the child to return to an infantile state, and thereby to recapture what he has lost. On the basis that any upsetting experience in late infancy or early childhood—regardless of its psychic content and the threat of the newcomer or of the loss of mother love—may cause similar disturbances, we infer that a number of these regressive symptoms represent a sudden disorganization of the most recently acquired social and physiological adaptations in response to emotional shock. The most recently acquired adaptations are the first to go. For example, if bladder control had been established for a period of two months before the new baby arrives, there is more likely to be a return to wetting than if bladder control had been established for eight months. Nevertheless, some of

the regressive symptoms are regressive in the true sense of the word; the child may really want to be the baby, in some cases actually trying to return to the mother's breast. Proof of this return to infantile behavior occurs not only with play material in office interviews but also in the home.

After a period of hostile behavior (an attempt to get rid of the baby) and regressive symptoms (an attempt to displace the baby and to return to infancy), competitive behavior is manifested. These events may not follow a definite sequence. Within an hour of the first experience every variety of hostile, regressive and competitive symptoms may appear. But there is still a chronology in these manifestations.

In the later years of the child's growth, in fact even throughout adult life, the only evidence of sibling rivalry manifested in social behavior may appear in a competitive relationship. This development out of the primitive reactions to the newcomer, which rests basically on the struggle for maternal love, has a profound influence on the energy and ambition of a goodly portion of mankind. The competitive drives among children of the same family may vary from the bitterest feuds to good-natured rivalry. Even in those whose first undisciplined hostilities toward the newcomer have been successfully inhibited, and who have attained a satisfactory relationship—that is, in individuals who are in presumably good mental health—the competitive attitude may remain.

The competitive phase of rivalry is seen especially in the response of the younger child to the older. A common pattern is one in which, in a two-child family, the first overcomes the early hostile attitude and plays a dominating role with little or no evidence of competitive activity, while the younger competes with the older in every possible direction.

So much stress has been placed on the rivalry between children in the family that it would be unfair to leave out of consideration the strong ties of affection, tenderness and loyalty of brothers and sisters even in early life. The fact that this paper is limited to the rivalry aspect of sibling relationships may appear to

lead to the inference that hostilities permeate the picture; this is false. Actually, prevailingly hostile feelings, without a strong admixture of tender and protective attitudes, are exceptional.

Boys Versus Girls

Now, having warned the reader of the limitation of this study, we may consider further aspects of our problem. What happens when the rivalry is between a brother and a sister? Theoretically we would expect less bitter rivalry between children of opposite sexes because of a greater division of interests. We might also assume that when the older child is a girl she would take a maternal attitude toward the baby and overcome hostility through that route. This inference is based on the notion that the girl evinces the maternal instinct early in life and thereby overcomes the feeling of rivalry. Actually, in experiments with children in which the situation of the newborn child is set up with play material, the response of "mothering" the child—that is, of nursing it, taking it from the mother, giving it food, putting it to bed and the like—occurred as frequently in boys as girls. Furthermore, there was no evidence of tenderness in the initial mothering moves. They appeared to be animated primarily by a wish to possess the baby and get it away from the mother. Nevertheless it is true that while in both sexes a protective attitude toward the younger child may be established early, in this respect girls develop stronger tendencies than boys. Experience has shown also that, in general, the rivalry of a brother and a sister is less keen, on the basis that there is less clash of interests.

When a strong brother-sister rivalry does occur, it is easy to understand how the developing femininity of the girl may be affected disastrously, as also the developing masculinity of the boy. In the case of the girl, the energy utilized in competing with the brother acts unfavorably in the development of femininity in two ways: the boy's interests are stressed to the exclusion of the girl's; and there is generally less receptivity to all the influences that are essential for growing femininity. The aggressive tendencies of a life that is permeated with that type of rivalry may grow to a point where they interfere with the girl's basic instinctual development. On the other hand, many girls go through a tomboy period fostered by rivalry with a brother, a period relinquished by the time of puberty. In such cases, and they are legion, we assume that the girl relinquishes, partly at least, the struggle toward masculinity.

Rivalry along feminine lines on the part of the boy toward a sister is a less frequent phenomenon. When

it occurs we have a similar but converse problem, interference with the growth of masculinity. Its infrequency is attributed to the fact that the boy is much more likely to be envied than the girl, because of his usually advantageous position in relation to the mother, and his physical and genital superiority.

The attempt to keep clear of the various by-paths, into which the problem of sibling rivalry leads, compels us, in a brief discussion, to set up artificial limitations. In brother-sister rivalry, for instance, aside from the rivalry situation as such, the whole problem of sex identification is raised. The relationship with each parent, in turn, has important influences on the rivalry clashes. Once we begin to investigate a human relationship, all the early social experiences of the child begin to obtrude a medley of influences that perplex the investigator. It has been our purpose, therefore, to trace certain definite lines in one of the many intra-familial patterns.

In Search of First Causes

THE degrees of clash between members of the same family vary. In some instances they are hardly discernible, in others they disrupt the family with explosive tantrums and bitter hostility. What are the factors that make for sibling rivalry and determine the intensity of its expression? The answer to this question is of especial importance in preventing at least the harsher manifestations of the clash. If we know, at least, what conditions preceding the birth of another child will add fire to a rivalry that is to be manifested, we shall have a great aid in prevention.

Recent studies have shown that the intensity of the rivalry with the new baby is generally in direct proportion to the older child's dependency on the mother; that is, the more the life of a child is bound up with the mother, the greater the threat of the newcomer. That amounts to no more than saying that if every satisfaction and necessity in life come from the relationship with one individual, life is shattered when that individual turns in another direction. Such a situation in adult life is thought to be less alarming than in early childhood, because the adult has at least the possibility of developing new contacts. Nevertheless, in an adult love relationship, loss of the partner is often a staggering problem in readaptation to life. This is not a false analogy, even though the child later may learn to share the love of the mother. Furthermore, all the facts at hand indicate that when the reverse is true, that is, when the child has interests and social relationships which include other people, as well as the mother, rivalry is less intense in its expression, or not even apparent.

In large families sibling rivalry is less frequent or less intense in its manifestations than in small families. The reason is that in large families there is less possibility of exclusive maternal devotion to any given child, and greater possibility of making strong attachments to brother and sister; both these factors lessen the threatening character of the newborn.

When the difference in age between the child and the baby is large the same consideration holds. A twelve-year-old child is obviously less likely to be affected in its way of living when the new baby arrives than a four-year-old. Where the difference in age is two or three years, rivalry is especially intense and overt. During the period between infancy and childhood, the infantile dependence on the mother still remains very strong, and the threat of the newborn is correspondingly great. There is also some suggestive evidence that where the difference in age is only a year or less, rivalry may be diminished or absent. In twins, similar or dissimilar, there appear to be fewer instances of intense rivalry clashes than in other siblings. This is explained by the fact that the child is adapted from its earlier days to a sibling. In fact, when the difference is no greater than one year there is no memory of a life as the only baby of the family, and hence no early experience of being displaced.

But none of these considerations is so important as the original relationship to the mother. Where children are strongly overprotected by the mother, neither age differences, nor the number of other children, nor outside interests mean anything at all; for the relationship of mother and child in such cases is a social monopoly. Its break by the obtruding newcomer attacks the vital social functions of the child. The overprotected child has a greater problem in adapting to the sibling, older or younger, than a child in any other type of mother-child relationship.

It must be remembered that by a "social monopoly" an extreme type of overprotection is meant. In such cases the mother practically excludes herself from all social relationships excepting that with the child. All her interests and emotional needs are satisfied only in that way. Although these are extreme instances, such mothers display, in an exaggerated form, overprotective manoeuvres occurring in varying degrees in many families. Through the study of extremes we get a clearer picture of less acute difficulties in similar relationships, since it can be shown that the difference is one of degree and not of kind.

The method of diminishing or of "curing" sibling rivalry may be discerned, in the main, from the facts cited. Before considering therapy, however, it will be worth while to describe the details of the child's response to the sibling rivalry situation when it is pre-

sented through the use of play material. The first example will be taken from the activity of a three-year-old boy, eighteen months older than the baby. He was referred to a psychiatrist because of stammering and restless activity. His behavior in the experimental situation was in essence no different from that of other children studied. (The details that go to make the experiment a "controlled situation" are omitted here for lack of space.)

Uncovering Hostilities

A MOTHER doll was arranged with a baby at her breast and a third doll, called the brother doll, was introduced. The child was told that the brother doll was seeing the baby for the first time.

"What does he do?" he was asked.

The child took the brother doll and with it knocked the baby doll from the mother's arms and beat it vigorously. He then took the baby doll (it was made of celluloid) and tore it to bits. When asked what he was doing, he said he was tearing up the baby and hitting it hard. Then he took the brother doll and threw it across the room.

Asked why he did that, he replied, "He was punished because he was naughty to hit the baby."

He then recovered the brother doll and with it beat the mother doll, then snatched off her clay breasts, put them in his mouth, bit them, threw them on the floor, put them back on the mother doll's shoulders and then pulled the mother doll apart. Next he put the mother together again. (It was an "amputation doll" whose limbs could be pulled off and put back in place.) Then he asked to play with a toy truck he saw, and used it to run over the pieces of the baby doll. Finally he ran out of the office to his mother, who was waiting in the reception room.

The experiment represented the first of a series with this child. It is interesting that whether the hostile expression in the original trial is severe or mild, it reaches primitive hostile forms in later trials, followed by a weakening of the hostile attitude and often by the development of tender and protective feelings. Actually during the time of the study this boy, who showed such ferocious hostility in the play situation, did no more at home than prevent the brother from getting at his toys and grabbing them away.

In contrast with the cruder manifestations illustrated in the experiment, is an example of the more subtle aspects of rivalry. The behavior of John, aged twelve, illustrates the remarkable potential influence of the competitive aspect, and how it circles around the desire for parental love and recognition. John's main difficulty was in learning to read. Diagnostic

reading tests showed very little, if any, evidence of special reading disability. We were satisfied that the reading problem could not be explained by lack of intelligence or peculiar educational handicaps.

John used drawings to illustrate what he thought was the first situation in which he had strong feelings about reading. He drew a couch on which his mother and older brother sat. He tried to represent the mother sitting close with one arm over the older brother's shoulder, pointing to a book which rested in the brother's lap. In the far corner of the paper he drew himself sitting on a chair looking on. The event, he believed, took place before he started to school, when he was five and his brother eight.

He described his feelings in this manner: "That's how I saw them sitting. She had her arm around him. He was reading to her. I thought I'd like to push him away, grab him, pull him away and then sit there myself. I thought I'd like to hit him on the head with something. Then I thought I'd go to the next room and stay behind the door, and when he would go through the door I would hit him on the head with a club. Then I thought I'd go to my room and work on that box I was making. Grandmother says I'm a good carpenter. I can make things better than my brother. They all think I know how to work with a hammer and nails. That's better fun than reading . . .".

Readers may question the subtlety of the second example as compared with the first, since they are both of a pattern. The hostility, however, is now idealational. It is no longer expressed in primitive manner. The brothers have always been bitter rivals. In the situation pictured, the older brother showed a superiority at a time when the younger could not compete along the same lines. The latter therefore became derogatory of the brother's achievement, reacted against reading, increased his activity along lines in which his achievement received recognition, and turned away from mother to grandmother on the basis of his jealousy. The repercussions of the rivalry situation not only struck the relations of mother to grandmother, but also distinctly affected the boy's own intellectual interests. When he was old enough to learn to read, his attitude was already an unfavorable one. Reading became a difficult problem. After clearing up the problem in so far as it was affected by rivalry, the educational handicap remained. But now his response to tutoring, which was previously indifferent, became more vigorous and successful.

In the case of John, the problem of sibling rivalry had to be worked through directly as part of the psychiatrist's job in the office. That seemed a logical step in the treatment. Let us assume that the problem

of sibling rivalry is involved with maternal attitudes that may block any such direct attack on the child's problem. In such a case the entire treatment may focus on the mother. Just how severe sibling rivalry must be to require the help of a psychiatrist is difficult to determine. Certainly where infantile responses continue in the form of constant fighting and quarreling, where the rivalry problem permeates the child's school life as well as his family relationships, the need for treatment is obvious. Ordinary family life presents pictures of rivalry behavior to a degree that we regard as normal. Parents and teachers will have to judge the severity and the need for treatment.

The general social importance of the findings we have presented really lies in the field of preventive therapy. The question is how family life can be so organized that sibling rivalry will be confined to a problem of ordinary dimensions. From the material of this paper the question can be re-stated so as to imply the solution: How can we prevent the development of such a dependent relationship to the mother, so that a sibling will not be so great a threat to the child's security?

What Parents Can Do

It is doubtful that sibling rivalry can be entirely eradicated, especially in infancy and childhood, and furthermore it is doubtful if its complete eradication would be a blessing. There are certain definite values that arise out of the relationship. What we want to prevent is a sibling relationship in which the rivalry phase covers the whole picture. The answer to our question lies first in the mother-child relationship, in her ability to weaken her protective feelings gradually during the growing life of the child. It lies also in her ability to give him a full measure of love. In other words, our first answer is involved in the prevention of maternal overprotection or maternal rejection.

When an answer is given in terms of psychic attitudes, parents may shrug their shoulders and say, "Yes, this is all very nice; but what are we to do?"

Even though we realize that a healthy parental attitude can do more than any set of rules to bring into activity wise procedures, we can at least indicate the external moves. Regardless of how she feels, a mother can help by seeing that the child has a variety of contacts starting in infancy. If the family is a small one, it will be valuable to utilize friends and relatives to make possible some diversification of the child's emotional relationships. This must also be true for the mother. Where the mother's attitude toward the child derives a great deal of its energy from marital

difficulties, then, of course, their solution becomes a primary need. But regardless of parental difficulties, the creation of opportunities for the child to make friendly relationships has a tremendous value in itself.

Another suggestion deals with the management of the potential rivals. The prevention of favoritism is all important. When parents can be made aware of the tremendous hostility engendered in the child against the brother or sister who is put in the lime-light of praise and glory while he is in the shadow, they will try to prevent unfavorable contrasts. It may be necessary to manage the activities of the children so that they have little opportunity to clash, by distributing their responsibilities, by diversifying their interests, by having the visits to friends or relatives

come at different times, even by keeping the older child out of the room during breast feeding. The details are easy to work out, when the significance of the unfavorable contrasts are realized. Parents commonly have favorites among children, and no doubt always will have. They can, nevertheless, understand the cruelty of exposing a child to the experience of being completely ignored while he sees tremendous adulation, applause and love heaped upon a brother or sister.

Without making light of the difficulties, all the evidence points to the conclusion that the child who is neither too closely tied to his mother nor too much ignored in favor of another has a good chance of working out friendly, constructive brotherly relationships.

Temper Tantrums

Disconcerting as it is, a tantrum is not unnatural in a little child and if wisely handled is not serious; in later years guidance must be worked out in relation to causes as well as symptoms.

MARTHA MAY REYNOLDS

AN authentic temper tantrum is a rather appalling spectacle to watch. Like a veritable fury the child, or even the adult, throws caution to the winds and releases his pent up energy with characteristic disregard of consequences. Spectators marvel at the antics of their otherwise rational fellow being but are powerless to help. If an observer is wise to the ways of temper tantrums, he steals silently away and pretends that he is not only deaf, dumb and blind, but a person of short memory as well.

An admirable portrayal of a temper tantrum was shown in a *New Yorker* cartoon recently. Above the caption, "Well, if Mabel Ellerton had a motorcycle escort at her wedding, I don't see why I can't have one at mine!" the young bride-to-be is pictured tearing her hair, throwing her arms wildly in the air and unconcernedly knocking over a chair. The effect of this performance on her parents is aptly depicted in their attitudes of dejection and helplessness, in which an element of fear is apparent.

All this puts considerable strain on a family or a school group. Temper tantrums are disrupting, and even the poise with which a trained nursery school teacher deals with one is often merely a superficial calmness which she does not really feel. The type of outburst which is usually called a temper tantrum is obviously not a desirable form of behavior. But

it must not be supposed that all forms of resistance are equally in disrepute. Some form of aggression, independence or willingness to stick up for one's own rights is essential if the individual is to be a useful member of society. But to be effective, this resistance needs to be guided by intelligence; and in a temper tantrum it never is. Even in the seemingly voluntary tantrum portrayed in the cartoon, the emotion of anger once in control is likely to overshoot the mark so that on "coming to" the person finds himself worse off than he was in the beginning.

The child who calmly resists an attempt to take a cherished toy from him and clings tightly to it, saying "Mine," will be better off than the child who cries and stamps his feet and, in doing so, loosens his grip on the toy. Calm, intelligent resistance will triumph in the long run over the blind, almost hysterical activity of a temper tantrum. It is for this reason that child guidance tries to replace tantrum behavior by more intelligent methods of gaining the same end.

Fortunately, real temper tantrums are relatively infrequent, but the lesser degrees of resistance are everyday occurrences in the lives of all of us. Then why do some children, and grown-ups as well, have temper tantrums, while the majority of people go through life displaying a milder form of anger?

Since it is no longer popular to blame behavior on

immediate or remote ancestors, causes must be sought in things which have happened to the child since his birth. The recent interest of psychologists in emotional development has, however, produced evidence for the generally accepted theory that even at birth children protest against any interference with their activities. At first these protests are ineffective and show no characteristic pattern, but as the child grows older, they become more like the thing we call anger. In other words, every child has within him the potentialities for producing a temper tantrum.

But of course not all children possess the potentialities in the same degree. Some children have very strong tendencies to anger, while in others the tendency is so weak that it seems almost absent. Like many other human traits, this tendency to anger probably varies according to the normal curve of distribution, and most people have it in only average strength while a few people display both extremes. An observation of very young babies in a maternity hospital will illustrate this point. Notice how one child reacts to hunger by merely turning his head and "fussing" a little (the nurses call him a "good" baby;) how another cries demandingly and turns red in the face with his effort; while most of the babies make known their physical discomfort by behavior which is somewhere between these two extremes.

Character and Conflict

THE opportunities for arousing resistance are numerous in everyday environment. Even the most spoiled child whose parents grant his every wish meets things that will not go his way. His wishes are often in conflict with such elements in his environment as the weather or human beings whom he cannot control. The thing called character is built out of these encounters. Conflict may be a positive as well as a negative force. But ordinarily there is no need to introduce conflict for the sake of character formation. Life itself provides for most children enough opportunities in the way of meeting natural obstacles to develop their natural tendency toward resistance. Out of these conflicts grow habits of reacting which soon become an important part of what we call personality.

There is no doubt that the many forms of anger which human beings display have their roots in this tendency of the organism to resist interference. Hitting, crying and biting are illustrations of behavior which is directly traceable to this; while calling names, threatening and scolding have the same basis, somewhat obscured by the social conventions.

Temper tantrums can be regarded, then, as extreme

forms of resistance which are, on the whole, not socially acceptable. Something more than the universal tendency to resist interference is necessary to account for the existence of frequent and serious tantrums. That something is undoubtedly the way the child is handled.

The explanation of how temper tantrums develop runs somewhat like this: Probably every child has at least one tantrum at a very early age; if he gains what he wants by this behavior, he will most assuredly have another one. The laws of learning apply in the field of emotions as they do in the acquisition of the school subjects. Behavior which brings satisfaction tends to be repeated whether it be learning to spell, to ride a kiddie car, to get along with other human beings, or to have a tantrum. This is illustrated by an incident vouched for by a college student who was perplexed about the behavior of a friend. The friend's father had given her mother a beautiful fur coat for Christmas, and, in the language of the student who told the story, the daughter "made such a terrible fuss that the mother had to hand it over to her, instead."

There is no point in blaming the girl, or insisting that at nineteen she should "know better," or that she should "be more thoughtful of her mother." The fault lies in the way her natural tendency to resistance had been handled when she was still a child. Undoubtedly the parents had taught their daughter (unwittingly, of course) that a temper tantrum was the way to secure what she wanted. From a child who threw herself on the floor and cried for a cookie which she eventually got, she has grown into a young girl who stamps her foot and shrieks for a fur coat. The principle remains the same; the behavior brought satisfaction. The chief reason that really mature women do not have temper tantrums to get fur coats is that they have long since learned that tantrums do not succeed in securing anything except disapproval and bad headaches.

But the full explanation of a temper tantrum is really not as simple as this sounds. It frequently involves deep seated problems of adjustment of which the temper tantrum itself is merely the most disturbing manifestation. A temper tantrum is seldom the only symptom of maladjustment which an individual shows. Usually it is accompanied by other complex and interrelated problems—of jealousy, of favoritism, of inferiority, for instance—problems which involve the relationship of the individual to his family or his companions. Learning that it works plays its part in the development of serious tantrum behavior, but the fundamental motivation for the behavior should not be overlooked in the search for an explanation. In other words, it is not enough to ask *how* a child learned

to have temper tantrums; we should also ask *why* his parents allowed him to learn it.

Friction between parents which results in inconsistency in dealing with their children, rejection or overprotection by one or both parents, these and other similar causes may be the real reasons why temper tantrums were allowed to develop in the first place. True, it was the child who learned to have temper tantrums; but he learned because his parents couldn't agree on what to do about him, just as they couldn't agree on many other things; or because his mother resented his intrusion into her already busy life; or because his father wished to heap upon him all the happiness of which he himself had been deprived as a child. These are probably typical of the real causes of the maladjustments which the child learns to express by means of temper tantrums.

The fur coat illustration may also be misleading for another reason, since the satisfaction which the girl received for her tantrum was tangible, and like the cookie demanded by a younger child, understandable at its surface value. But other things besides actual things give satisfaction to children; one of the most powerful of these is the attention of an adult, whether it be in the form of approval or disapproval.

In dealing with temper tantrums, then, adults have a twofold job: to make the tantrum itself unsatisfying and to find out its fundamental cause.

The method which is usually successful in carrying out the first part of this responsibility is to leave the child alone. This can be accomplished either by removing the audience from the child, or the child from the audience. The former is the better method, other things being equal, since it avoids the necessity of touching the child in order to remove him from the

present scene of action. But whichever method is used, it is wise to see that the environment in which the child is left "to cry it out" by himself is as fool-proof as possible. A good rule to follow, then, is to isolate the child swiftly, safely, sympathetically and skillfully. In this way, the possibility of attaining satisfaction is removed and there is less tendency for the behavior to be repeated.

When we come to the more subtle problem of searching out causes, there is no one method. It involves a search for the problems of maladjustment in the family group, discussed earlier in this article, and may lead far afield from the more obvious occasion for a particular tantrum.

Younger children whose language is but imperfectly developed cannot be expected to help find the reason for their tantrums, but older children can often suggest possible causes themselves. For this reason, talking it over with the older child is often helpful. Care should be taken, however, that the adult does not develop a "holier-than-thou" attitude and that the discussion does not degenerate into a scolding. To be successful, it must be a genuinely sympathetic attempt to understand the causes and to help the child appreciate them for himself.

Once the causes, both immediate and remote, seem to have been discovered, constructive ways of avoiding a tantrum next time can be worked out, and more satisfactory ways of letting off the energy can be devised. But, of course, it is not to be expected that the habit of temper tantrums will be broken immediately. Like all other phases of child guidance, it takes time, a sympathetic understanding, a sense of humor and considerable ingenuity to overcome temper tantrums, whether in oneself or one's children.

When Parents Disagree

Though lack of harmony between father and mother is one of the most serious handicaps to the child's emotional development, mental hygiene can suggest some ways of meeting it that are better than others.

GEORGE K. PRATT

NOT long ago at a certain college where I served in the capacity of student consultant in mental hygiene, the president of one of the fraternities asked if I would see a third year student. It seems that his fraternity brothers were becoming concerned about Albert (which is not his real name.)

Albert was a junior and during his first two years had achieved excellent scholastic standing, as well as enviable popularity in extra-curricular activities. There was even talk of running him next year for senior president. But after his return from the vacation between his second and third years, the fellows

noticed a change. He was becoming subject to frequent spells of moodiness and depression. He shunned social affairs, a new attitude for Albert, and for the first time in college he was having difficulty in getting even passing marks.

What was the matter? What could they do? These were the questions that perplexed the Rho Deltas. Exhortations to "snap out of it" had proved of no avail; Albert had finally turned snarling on his room-mate, who with well meaning persistence had tried to induce him to re-enter into the spirit of the campus.

At first Albert was reluctant to talk, and he broke two earlier appointments before he finally came to see me. After a bit, however, he loosened up. His story was tragic, but appallingly common. An only child, rather more sensitive to nuances and shadings of mood in others than the average, he had grown up in an atmosphere made miasmic by frequent bickering between his parents. Apparently no special effort had been made to keep him from witnessing and overhearing their bitter recriminations, and the boy had been sorely troubled. When he was a little fellow the significance of these quarrels had not sunk in; he had been aware only of an almost habitually tense and strained air about the home, and to this he had reacted by the development within himself of an attitude characterized by swings of mood and by apparently unaccountable rages against his playmates.

Reflecting Parental Moods

NEVERTHELESS, between six and fourteen Albert seems to have been a reasonably average youngster; it was not until his last two years of high school, which fell during a period when the parental bitterness appeared to be reaching new heights of acrimony, that the boy's general adjustment began noticeably to suffer. Then for a time he went through a stage not dissimilar to the one in which he was now enmeshed. He had become moody and sullen, cut classes to wander around the streets and moon, and was in danger of flunking. Something, however, evidently happened to put him back on his feet and with graduation and removal from the family scene through going away to college he blossomed forth anew.

Albert went on with his story. Just before the end of his second year in college, letters from home indicated that matters there were approaching a crisis. When vacation arrived he returned home to discover that his parents had separated. An arrangement had been worked out, however, by which he was to spend two weeks with his mother followed by two weeks with

his father throughout the summer. It was the mother's turn to have him first. During her fortnight of custodianship she apparently used him as a go-between for the purpose of hurting and revenging herself against his father. She filled the boy with tales of abuse and petty irritations at her husband's hands that threw Albert into intolerable conflict. He really loved both his parents, and to have his father-image shattered so completely proved a terrific strain on adolescent loyalties. Then the father's turn to take Albert came, and to the latter's dismay and further conflict, he had to listen to recitals of his mother's derelictions and pettishness until he didn't know what to think.

Which parent to believe? Who was right and who was wrong? Were his ideals of parenthood to be irreparably destroyed? Could mothers and fathers be the selfish, mean and petty creatures each of his own accused the other of being?

Shouldering Adult Burdens

A BOUT this time and, so far as Albert could see, independent of the home situation, he found himself in one of those temporarily violent concerns with religion that so often are characteristic of this age. With the burgeoning of this concern came morbid doubts and unhappy convictions of his own guilt and unworthiness. Was it possible that in some way (he confessed he couldn't see how, but the idea would not be dispelled) he was responsible for the parental friction? Did it not devolve on him to patch matters up between them? He tried, in a timid sort of way; and many nights found him wrestling despairingly after he had gone to bed in an effort to seek guidance and help. But to no avail.

It was on this note that Albert returned to college in the fall. Now the horse-play at the fraternity house and the frivolous badinage of the campus annoyed him. He was still preoccupied with his own inner search for ways out of his parents' difficulties and with endeavors to readjust his ideas of them. He tried to study, but always the picture of the rent and shattered lives at home rose up before him to distract attention from the task in hand. Sometimes he would make a violently determined effort to be gay and carefree but the awkward and exaggerated boisterousness with which he made such efforts alarmed his classmates even more than his habitual gloominess.

Happily, it proved possible in the end to do something for Albert and to help him to a better adjustment. Although the actual situation at home could not be changed, the boy's attitude toward the situation was found to be susceptible to modification, and he

gradually acquired a philosophy, which, without lessening his basic affection for his mother and father, enabled him, nevertheless, to carry the realization of their incompatibility without excessive reaction or self-accusation. Last summer a mutual acquaintance told me that Albert had graduated with honors and was now successfully launched on a business career.

There can be no denying that parental conflicts do have their repercussions on the personalities of the children who are involved. It is virtually impossible for a child of any age to be exposed during his formative years to the emotional traumata of frequent quarrels between his parents, or even to grow up in an atmosphere charged with such frictions, even though actual scenes of dissension may scrupulously be kept from his eyes and ears, without unfavorable reaction of some kind. "Little pitchers have large ears," and most children have an uncanny sixth sense that makes them aware of parental bickerings. When this is continued over some period of time, it leaves scars that all too often are never entirely eradicated.

What are some of these emotional scars on childhood personalities, it may be asked. Conflicts of loyalties, mixtures of love, hatred and hostility, inextricably fused into patterns of insecurity are probably the most likely. Children, even more than adults, need to experience a feeling of emotional security which is not frequently or seriously interrupted. To feel secure a child needs to know that he "belongs" to both of his parents, that each of them accepts him and shows him that he is needed to round out the family unity. But if one parent is pitted habitually against the other—and worse, if one or both of them use the child as an instrument for hurting the other through trying to wean away his affection—then the child's security is threatened and his need to find compensatory satisfactions and securities in other directions becomes paramount. It is the effort to find these compensatory securities in other directions that often leads to unwholesome displays of behavior or personality.

Symptoms of Insecurity

SOME children react to parental friction and the loss of security by developing an unwholesome dependency on one of the two parents and an out-and-out alliance in the family battle. Others, as a result of this excessive dependency, lag behind in their emotional or feeling development and thus become emotionally immature. Still others, if they are not yet too old chronologically speaking, manifest their conflict through symbolic regressions to their in-

fancy with flare-ups of bed-wetting, thumbsucking or nail-biting, whining, displays of fear and timidities of one kind or another. Another group reacts by trying to tell the rest of the world of their conflict and insecurity through the form of delinquencies of various types, like stealing, lying, or sex misconduct. It should be borne in mind, however, that other internal conflicts, as well as those that result from parental difficulties, may also cause these symptoms; nothing but an individual study will disclose whether a given child's maladjustment is an expression of his conflict over parental friction, or whether it is due to some other, quite different cause.

Parental quarrelling arising at that stage in the emotional growth of a boy's life, when for a few years he is naturally and normally more attached to his mother than to his father, may furnish added fuel to the customary fires of hostility that rage within him against the father at this period. Or, if it occurs in the comparable period of a girl's emotional development when her father is normally the primary love-object in her life, it may cause inner feelings of hatred and aggressiveness against her mother and a taking of sides with her father.

The Urge to "Belong"

NOT least important of the scars on childhood as a result of parental frictions is the feeling of "difference" it instills. During all childhood but especially in adolescence, boys and girls need to find much of their necessary security through a realization that they "belong," not only to their parents, but also to the play and school and neighborhood groups of which they are a part. To win acceptance from the group they must not be too different from the others. The group's own security depends to a great extent on the solidarity that comes from likeness, and to be fully accepted a child must be as like the others as possible—alike in dress, manner and behavior. Anything that tends to make him different is cause for group suspicion and possible rejection. All children instinctively sense this and realize that anything which makes them feel or act differently from the prevailing group standard tends to jeopardize their group standing and consequently their security.

Children who are forced to a realization of their parents' disharmonies feel "different;" they are bound to; conscientious and loyal as they may be, they cannot help comparing their own parents with the parents of their playmates. They conclude that there is something abnormal about *their* family situation that sets them apart, as it were, from the others, who,

they assume, have mothers and fathers not similarly handicapped. Feeling different, it is inevitable that they will act different. Soon the group notices this, and with the savage ruthlessness of childhood everywhere, excommunicates them.

These are but a few of the effects on children of parental friction. It is a saddening story which furnishes "Grade A" soil for the later development of personalities destined to go through life with patterns and attitudes which at best will prove of little help in adjusting constructively to marriage and the other vital experiences that life brings to most of us.

Recognizing Emotional Limitations

BUT what to do? One wishes, of course, that a panacea might be found. One wishes that admonitions and exhortations to parents to cease their bickering and set their children a good example might meet with the success that well meaning Pollyannas of all ages have sought. Unhappily, human nature being what it is, the true roots of much parental disharmony burrow deep into realms of the mind that are uninfluenced by so-called "will-power," according to the findings of many modern investigators. There seems little likelihood that exhortations and a purely intellectual understanding of the damage inflicted on children will prove sufficient help to maladjusted mothers and fathers in composing their conflicts. In other words, a great many parents who are frequently in friction are not psychologically free to change their behavior through the intervention of appeals directed to their logic alone. They know, from an intellectual standpoint, that they should not quarrel, and they know, on a rational basis, that such friction will have a destructive effect on their children. But in spite of this intellectual perception of the situation, they often are quite helpless to modify their attitude.

What then can be done? Probably nothing at this stage of scientific knowledge of the means of manipulating human relationships, unless one excepts the instances of individual psychotherapeutic treatment which, while astonishingly promising in the hands of capable psychiatrists, is yet too inexpedient to be useful for the great mass of parents who might profit from it. But if nothing can be done just now in the way of thorough-going and complete adjustment of most cases of already existing parental friction, nevertheless the situation is not wholly gloomy. Palliatives will help ease some of the difficulties, and happily there are palliatives, if they can be accepted for what they are.

For example, despite what has just been said about the fact that some parents are not psychologically

free to effect a drastic eradication of the conflicts that find external expression in quarrelling, intellect is not wholly impotent to bring about at least a slight modification. Even for a mother and father whose emotional immaturities are so extreme that for sheer illogic and unreason their bickerings find comparison only in the sand-box squabbles of a pair of four-year-olds, something may be done by tactful representations from a valued outsider to induce a restraint of violent recriminations before the children. In other cases an outright separation or even a divorce may prove in the end a less damaging experience for the children than an interminable continuation of the tense atmosphere at home. Even a parental unburdening to some third person whose discretion and understanding in a neutral, objective fashion can be relied upon may bring about a temporary drainage of pent-up and morbid feelings. This in turn will lessen tension and make it possible for the parent to carry on a little longer without recourse to quarrels, at least until the accumulation of renewed grievances once again batters down all restraints.

Possible Preventatives

IT is also possible that refinements and new developments in the techniques of leading study groups may contribute to a lessening of parental conflicts. As mothers and fathers come to gain a better understanding of the universality of their differences they may be helped through the study group experience to accept each other for what they are without being under the compulsion to make over or "change" the other. Indeed, until future developments make possible the application of psychotherapeutic measures to a greater percentage of the population than can be reached with present techniques, the extension of the study group idea may prove to be the most promising instrument for attaining this goal. But even this will be really effective only where leaders are trained in the recognition and management of the subtleties of human relationship.

In the last analysis, prevention is always better than cure. Some day the time may come when advancing knowledge in psychiatry and allied fields will be of help to prospective husbands and wives in avoiding life-time obligations, when it is apparent that the cards are stacked against them and failure in marriage seems a certainty. Or, to push the preventive program back still further, some day children may be allowed to grow up in such fashion that when they become parents they will be under no compulsion to repeat or re-enact with their own children the unfavorable parental attitudes carried over from childhood.

Where Do We Go From Here?

Temperaments may vary from grave to gay, but this year's college graduates have one thing in common—they want a job.

Edited by ZILPHA CARRUTHERS FRANKLIN

WHAT does the world look like to college graduates of 1934? Why not ask them to speak for themselves?

Early this winter CHILD STUDY therefore sent a request to teachers in thirteen representative colleges, asking them to put the question to their students.

"This seems," we told them, "a welcome opportunity for young people themselves to give expression to their feelings concerning the present social chaos and the personal frustrations involved. What are their hopes and fears for their private lives?"

Their replies are concentrated on *where to get a job—and how*. The astonishing thing would have been to have found them less unanimous; and yet it brings one up with a sharp turn to have a whole cross section of young people put it so baldly and with so little of the sentiment of the conventional valedictory.

To some it still seems incredible that the moment has come. "There is the quiet, serene campus of state-ly buildings amidst sheltering, gray trees, and hundreds of apparently contented students, some giddy, some serious, but most of them oblivious of the world which seldom touches their own little hemisphere of gaiety, study and an odd sheltered happiness. In spite of the small fears and doubts which surround our minds, we are ready for tomorrow. It has been long in arriving, and we want to know what it holds."

One young man has paused to analyze "the two worlds in which college students, for the most part, may be said to live—the one a tiny world where grades, societies, teams and friends are our main concerns, even to the exclusion of the second world for which our four years are intended to prepare us. The criteria of the campus are much less demanding than those of the community; perhaps that is why most students disregard local, municipal and national questions. Confining all our activities to a narrow campus life, we escape the grimmer problems that our parents and older friends are facing."

If some, "building a little fence of trust around today," still "look not through the sheltering bars upon

tomorrow," others can look and remain optimists. As one of them says, they "can't understand why their friends feel that the present industrial debacle has made their future business and social life so precarious that they are frustrated in the very start of their adult lives. Why aren't my personal chances in this new age what I make them? My possibilities lie within myself. I have spent sixteen out of my twenty-one years of life in school. Was I preparing myself so that my college diploma would be a guarantee that now I would be welcomed as a giant in the industrial world, that because I had gone to school I was now ready to accept a high place in society? Of course not. I can bring to society only myself, altered by my experiences, but essentially valuable as I myself have worth."

"And always, whatever I do in the next few years, there will be the drama: industry as a slightly startled villain; labor as a swooning but reviving maiden; the government as a dithering hero, undecided whether to take up batching with the villain, or to marry the maiden. Conflict is the plot—and I shan't sit in the audience!"

One boy who feels "that the average 1934 graduate is still optimistic" points to the fact that "he has at least satisfied the scholastic ambition his parents have held for him by proving himself capable of obtaining a college degree. He may still be eating the food and wearing the clothes his parents buy for him, but he believes he will eventually get a job, perhaps with a small salary at first, but anyway a job, so that he can support himself, get his feet out from under his mother's table, and buy his shirts with his own money."

But a girl, who is equally aware of the part her parents have played in shaping her destiny, is neither so grateful nor so sanguine. "I have no faith in my ability to succeed in my chosen vocation. In fact, it was not the one I wanted—I should have loved to have prepared for interior decoration, but I was afraid simply because at home I could never arrange a vase of flowers, or balance the piano with the davenport and the tables, without being laughed at."

This note of frustration, the suspicion that "A.B." may stand for "A lot of Baloney," is not infrequent. One who begins by agreeing that, "distinctly we have acquired something," goes on to say that "those of us without pull are going to suffer for that acquisition."

"Disillusionment began when we drew into our circle of friends those worn, slightly shabby 'alums' who return with a flickering hope of reviving some of the old college optimism from our homecoming parties and evil-tasting gin. Several graduates in the business school who had acquired culture and poise through fraternity life were holding down floor-walking jobs in big department stores. We began to wonder.

"It seems to me that college graduates have been foiled. They were tricked into believing that educational training is a means to a successful end. They spent years in college and thousands of dollars in being *trained*, not in being *educated*. They were taught not to think, but to remember. They were not allowed to become useful laborers, but were influenced to believe that there were great things to be done in the world which their education would aid them in doing. They are forced to suffer along with the uneducated unemployed without having retained the ability to resign themselves."

Between Two Fires

POSITIONS which "would offer opportunities for self-advancement have already been taken by the well prepared graduates of a few years ago. Work which requires less training or responsibility has been taken up by those who did not go to college. The thwarted ambitions of capable men in this chaos, the personal defeats of people who a few years ago were completely secure have taught us that success depends on more than the will to do, and that there is no such thing as security. We can set up a goal toward which to work, but we cannot convince ourselves that when we arrive, the goal will be what we had expected. To us who are about to graduate, it appears that we are leaving the last stronghold of an ordered, rational environment. Up to now our rewards have been proportional to our efforts or capacities. It has been a fair game—and the best man won. From now on anything might happen, and it probably will."

Discussing his own possible progress "from college to breadline," another declares that "the sheepskin is the passport into the army of the unemployed. Armed with a diploma and a pair of new shoes I shall sally forth next June to find a means of livelihood for myself. But I know in advance what the result will be—'You must have experience,' 'Too young,' 'Field is overcrowded already'—and my new-found indepen-

dence will resolve into crestfallen admission of defeat, of inability to cope with the world. Graduation should be the beginning of life; instead it is the end of normality and ordered existence. The world is in chaos and college failed to prepare us for chaos.

"In a few years, if present conditions continue, the word independence will have lost its meaning; the world today teaches us to depend upon parents, upon government, upon society, upon anything or anyone but ourselves. When we, the young people of today, have learned the bitter lesson of dependence, what then will happen to our great nation? We do not ask for aid; we ask for opportunities to live as our fathers did, to support ourselves, to marry and raise families, and to take active part in the government of the nation."

Though the problem always reduces itself to "the elementary arithmetic of a little bread and less butter," emotions as well as economics enter the calculation.

Formerly the boy who could not at once carry out his rosy plans for the future threw himself into the business of earning a living, and soon became absorbed in his work. But today, he not only must give up the dreams upon which he has built his life, but he must also endure the boredom of unemployment and the humiliation of living upon the family income. His sister suffers no less, for whether she chooses marriage or a career she will probably have to earn her own bread and butter. Boys are wishing for war merely for the sake of 'something to do.' Girls, forced into five-year engagements, have small respect for the moral codes of their mothers."

Lost Self-Esteem

TODAY this same group "feels it is a beaten lot. Never before have so many boys seemed lacking in 'guts,' so many girls turned introspective and over-sensitive. Some adults may be pleased because 'the young people seem to have more respect for us nowadays.' But this is a sign of defeat; for when youth loses its swagger it has lost faith in itself."

Perhaps the most penetrating first-hand analysis of emotional gains and losses comes from a boy of twenty whose adventures have been so various that the professor through whom his story was submitted, takes pains to say he has been assured it is not fiction but autobiography:

"Experience is a great teacher. I've learned the veracity of the old adage on many jobs, with many different types of people, in all parts of this glorious, but unemployed country of ours—as an ice-dock laborer, as a farm hand, as a 'straw boss' on a section gang, as a grocery clerk and a ditchdigger. Doing everything from pipe fitting, lettuce thinning and night

watching to 'gigoloing' for a middle-aged woman, I could not help learning a few lessons.

"The experiences I have had, the conflicts I have encountered, and the obstacles I have surmounted have been not only a strengthening factor in my character building, but also a weakening factor. I admit that being dependent upon oneself through high school and college does make one more self-confident, more self-reliant and self-sustaining. On the other hand, I may say that some of the hardships I have endured in my young life have helped neither my character nor my health. Most decidedly, some of the experiences I've had as I traveled over this country looking for work, working when I could, have not improved my morals. There is nothing particularly uplifting, for example, about freight trains, or section gangs, or 'greasers,' or filthy mining camps, or slums, or 'hobo jungles,' or the harlots in cities here or there. These experiences leave their mark and amidst the steel timbers of character, which wholesome experience builds, is this rotting, slimy, rusting, degenerating refuse that, try as we may, we cannot avoid or wholly counteract.

"Furthermore, what of the difficulties I do *not* overcome? What of the temptations I do not resist, and of the times when my self-reliance is not sufficient and my self-confidence and courage fail? What effect has this on my character? When my mind is racked with fear and worry about where the next meal will come from, or whence the money to have my bottomless shoes resoled, when my mind rebels with resentment against my personal frustrations, what then happens to my character? Personally, I must depend upon my conscience and reason to keep me working hard, studying hard, and hoping hard, but sometimes my conscience fails to prod me on and I'm so tired I cannot reason.

"I am not so appalled by the hopeless dilemma of unemployment and its attendant evils as I am pricked by indignation for what it does to me. I am so concerned with earning a living, getting by, and keeping body and soul together that I cannot keep up with the rapid changes taking place in society about me. I sense them, though, and I am given hope that these mutations may better my position, perhaps give me a real chance. Perhaps, as my sailor-brother says, when everything has gone wrong, 'I'll just stick around and see what in hell is next.' Perhaps, somewhere, at some time, there will be a niche for me."

To most, it is not the dread of unknown hardships, but this fear of finding no niche, of being wanted nowhere in the world, that seems unendurable.

"When the management of the largest factory in a certain small college town took down the *No Help Wanted* sign which had guarded its entrance for four

years, and replaced it with one reading *Employment Office*, something happened to the college students. For nearly five years the students had been living in a depression which had greatly changed the lives of many of them. Dad, with years of experience behind him, could not get a job. How could son expect to step into a position without experience or training?

"But if one factory can change *No Help Wanted* to *Employment Office* certainly others will. While no college graduate wants to work as a common laborer, still that is better than nothing. (And the college man has lost enough of his superiority complex to realize that any job is better than none, as long as it is honest and includes a pay check.) Where there is a need for common labor, there must be need for trained men some place or other. We want a job more than we want money. Don't think we don't want money. We do, but we know we have to work for what we get; and all we ask of those in authority is to take down the *No Help Wanted* signs. Give us a break."

Making the Most of An Emergency

So much for the college student's view of his future. A few also offer some direct suggestions that they feel might helpfully be applied right now.

To students themselves one boy advises that, "Whereas in former times a person equipped himself for one set line, the youth of today should prepare himself in several fields. Instead of becoming embryo specialists, we should be jacks-of-all-trades."

Another has a word for the kind of employer who says, "If young people are discouraged by job hunting we don't want them in our business. The fellow with the real stuff in him will find work no matter what the odds."

"This is a romantic picture, but it is scarcely true of all types of workers. There is no reason to suppose that a good musician, writer, inventor or bookkeeper would make a good job-hunter; for job-hunting is essentially the art of salesmanship and many excellent workers are poor salesmen. Probably the most sensitive young people in the world are those belonging to the artistic fields, and many of these have already been permanently harmed by undue discouragement. It would not be surprising if the creative work of this generation showed a lack of true artistic merit; for only the hard, practical, highly commercialized type of worker is apt to survive this era."

Still another believes that education can no longer exist as a "separate cell" and that it must function as the "nucleus of the living cell" of society. The students

(Continued on page 255)

Parents' Questions and Discussion

These pages, based on the foregoing articles, are presented for the use of individuals or of groups having this topic on their regular programs. Questions and discussion are taken from study group records.

STUDY GROUP DEPARTMENT

CÉCILE PILPEL, Director — JOSETTE FRANK, Editor

Brother and sister, aged five and seven, are constantly quarreling about their possessions and privileges. Since both parents grew up as only children they do not know how much of such quarreling to consider "normal." They are uncertain whether to interfere or to let the children "fight it out."

Some quarreling is to be expected between children of a family who must share many things, but such quarreling should not be constant. It is probably less important to settle the children's disputes than to understand what underlies their differences, in order to bring about better feeling between them. It may be found that their difficulty lies in their need to feel that they share equally their parents' affection. If one or the other feels insecure or unequal in this respect there would inevitably be jealousies, which would seize upon minor issues for their expression.

Since young children do set much store by small things, it is wise to try to manage the details of their play and routine so that a fair balance is maintained in the matter of playthings and special prerogatives. But there will inevitably be privileges for the elder which the younger cannot share—the circus perhaps, or staying up later on occasion. The younger child will learn to accept these with fortitude only if he does not feel that it is a part of a more general favoritism. And the elder will not feel it necessary to "rub it in" unless he feels a need for bolstering up his own security.

A child of five frequently hits or kicks people, adults as well as children, when they interfere with what he is doing.

Where a child in a normal family has not been able to learn more suitable ways of expressing himself, one might look for possible physical causes of irritability. If a thorough physical ex-

amination reveals no likely cause, then one must examine the environment and the discipline to which he is being subjected, a discipline which may be faulty because it fails to consider the child's interests and desires. Is he always being told to "stop," to "do this," and "not do that?" Does he have freedom and opportunity to work out his own ideas and activities? Again, we may find very real difficulties in his emotional life—jealousies, insecurity, affectional lacks or other unsatisfying relationships. Wise procedure would have to be based upon the nature and causes of the difficulty.

What should be done about a child who is always curious about what adults are doing or talking about, who leaves doors open so as to listen in on the adults, and then asks, "What were you talking about when you said this or that?"

There are some children who constantly feel that they are under discussion among adults. They may suspect that they are being "disposed of," that arrangements are continually being made for their time and movements without considering their feelings. If this is the case, the child will perhaps feel less need to hear and see what is going on among the adults if she is completely reassured on this point—that is, if she finds that her preferences are considered, and if she is consulted so far as possible in any plans which concern her. Sometimes this listening in is an indication, seemingly far-fetched, of some unsatisfied sex interest. Again there are children who have not developed sufficient interests of their own, and who therefore rely for their satisfaction upon the interests of other people. These children often "tag" adults or other children. Such a child probably needs help in developing her own resources through the stimulation of work and play with children on her own level.

What can be done when a girl of nine will not play with other children but seems quite content to play alone?

Most children want to play alone some of the time—to work out ideas by themselves—and they should be given opportunity to do so. Some children want this more than others. It may be that this child has been too much with adults with whom her own way has been undisputed, and has never learned the give and take of social play. Again, her choice of playmates may be so limited that she has not found among them any whose interests really coincide with her own. Her play contacts may need adjustment along any or all of these lines. Normally a nine-year-old enjoys playing with other children. One would have to know more about this little girl to know what are the causes of her social withdrawals: whether she feels insecure with other children and unable to hold her own, and whether this insecurity is due to a home situation or to the fact that she senses that there is something in her personality make-up which prevents other children from seeking her company. It may be found that her personality difficulties are such that she needs help in acquiring confidence.

Where a child is adopted, is it better to tell him this fact in early childhood or to wait until he is older?

Nearly everyone who has had to do with the development of an adopted child agrees that it is far wiser to give a child very early in his life the knowledge of his adoption. As with sex information, it is best that the child should grow up having "always known" and that the information should be given simply, briefly and without much emotion on the part of the parent. An occasion usually arises at four or five years, perhaps, when the child naturally asks how babies come and how he came to his parents. When he grasps the idea of a baby growing within his mother's body, he may be told that in his case the story was slightly different and that his present mother is not the same as the one in whose body he grew, a statement which may need to be made several times if it is not grasped at first. There are two important points to keep in mind: first, a little child is content with a very small amount of information, and consequently the parent does not need to tell at once everything he knows; and second, the child will accept the information in whatever spirit it is given, naturally and without loss of security if the relationship with the adoptive parent is fundamentally secure. Detailed information about the character and whereabouts of the real parents is rarely demanded by the

young child. The giving of such information to older children, especially when it is of an unpleasant nature, is a matter which must be carefully considered in each case in relation to the individual child.

Must masturbation necessarily indicate something amiss in the child's emotional life?

Nearly all children of both sexes practice masturbation to a greater or less extent at one stage or another of their development. It is quite compatible with normal emotional growth and does not necessarily indicate something amiss in the child's emotional life; nor has it, in itself, any harmful effects. Some of it may be ascribed to normal psychosexual needs which vary with individual children. Also, of course, there may be purely physical causes having to do with irritation—as from tight clothing or possible skin discomforts. Sometimes it derives from a combination of both physical and emotional difficulties in the child's life.

No matter what the cause, however, this manifestation should never be dealt with by parents in ways which may arouse feelings of guilt, anxiety, fear, or moral inferiority in the child. In most cases it is best to do nothing directly for the young child beyond diverting his attention and offering him other activities. The older child, however, especially the adolescent, is entitled to an understanding of the matter in relation to sexuality as a whole. Since masturbation may take various forms and since its significance at various stages of development is not fully understood, it is inadvisable for parents to attempt to deal with it in a direct way without professional guidance.

The younger of two sisters is in special need of a healthy outdoor summer and is to be sent to camp. The family cannot afford to send both. Will this discrimination cause jealousy?

Envy there may well be, for if the older child has any desire to go to camp she cannot but envy the one who is privileged to go. But whether or not there will be jealousy of a more deep-seated or far-reaching nature will depend entirely upon the relationship already existing between the sisters. It will be wise, on the one hand, to guard against any suggestion that ill-health leads to special privilege; and on the other, to make definite efforts to compensate the stay-at-home child by providing some special treat or privileges of another kind.

Father and son are at odds concerning the boy's college and vocational plans. The father insists on a business course; the boy wishes to train himself for journalism.

It might be wise, in such a case, for the boy to take a thorough vocational and psychologi-

cal test which would give at least an index as to where his particular abilities will best fit. A respected and well-informed third person may help the father to view the vocational question more objectively. Possibly, however, the son may be resisting the parental pressure simply as an expression of revolt against authority, or because of a deeper conflict between their personalities. He may be resenting the father's use of him to carry out his own ambitions, to perpetuate either his own business or a family tradition. If there are such hostile feelings between father and son their whole relationship needs reconsideration.

When parents realize that their emotional attitudes have been warped by their own childhood experiences, what can they do to avoid passing along these difficulties to their children?

Inevitably we shall all affect our children adversely as well as helpfully. This is one of the burdens which the mature, adult person will have to be willing to accept as an inseparable part of parenthood. However, a recognition of their own difficulties will no doubt help to release the parents from the need to carry these things over in exaggerated forms into their living with their children.

STUDY MATERIAL: CONFLICT—A FORCE IN PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT

TOPICAL OUTLINE

1. ORIGINS OF CONFLICT

Sources within the individual's personality
Interplay of conflicting personalities upon each other
Outside circumstances and demands

2. EXPRESSIONS OF CONFLICT

Positive and aggressive attack on the problem
Open rebellion, as loss of control, temper tantrums, quarreling
Moodiness, jealousy, emotional discord
Withdrawal from active participation, as disinterest, psychic illness

3. DESTRUCTIVE EFFECTS

Loss of effectiveness in action, in relations with others
Personality deterioration
Loss of self-respect

4. POSSIBLE ASSETS IN CONFLICT

Release for pent up emotions
Direct means of resolving difficulties
Gain in inner security and in independence through realization that difficulties can be met

in which you think the conflict is a strengthening and character building experience.

4. If two children continually quarrel, should they be allowed to fight it out, or should they be separated? What factors would count in your decision?

5. Is jealousy between two children in the same family always harmful? Is it a sign of weakness, of mishandling, of personality defects? How should situations of this sort be treated?

6. A young boy who has recently passed his test and received his driver's license feels that he should share equally with other adults in the family in the use of the family car. The parents, on the other hand, feel that they should continue to exercise a certain amount of control over his comings and goings. What are the "rights" on both sides? Suggest some ways in which a compromise might be effected.

7. Is it ever wise to "run away" from a difficult situation? Give an example.

PROBLEMS FOR DISCUSSION

1. A baby of nineteen months cried and beat his head against the floor whenever he was crossed in any way or interrupted in his play. Account for this behavior, and suggest treatment.

2. A husband and wife, each of whom is genuinely interested in the welfare of their children, are in emotional difficulties with each other (as adults.) Is it possible to conceal this from the children? If it can be done, is it wise to do so? How should the situation be handled for the best adjustment of the children?

3. Cite an instance of difference between two children

REFERENCE READING

Difficulties in Child Development

By Mary Chadwick. Day. 411 pp. 1928

The First Two Years—Vol. III, Personality Manifestations
By Mary M. Shirley. Univ. of Minnesota. 228 pp. 1933

Marriage in the Modern Manner

By Ira S. Wile and Mary Day Winn. Century. 285 pp. 1929

Our Children: A Handbook for Parents

Edited by Dorothy Canfield Fisher and Sidonie Matsner Grunberg. Viking. 384 pp. 1932
Chapt. XVI—"The Family Drama" by Bernard Glueck, M.D.

The Psycho-Analytic Study of the Family

By J. C. Fluegel. Int'l. Psycho-Analytical Press. 259 pp. 1921

Social Development in Young Children

By Susan Isaacs. Harcourt, Brace. 480 pp. 1933

Book Reviews

Modern Man in Search of a Soul. By C. J. Jung.
Harcourt, Brace and Company. 282 pp. 1933.

If a philosopher or a divine were to call a new book *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, it would hardly challenge attention. But coming from a psychiatrist, the title has the potency of a rediscovered truth. However skeptical modern man may be of any talk of the soul, the spirit, or God, the realization that such concepts are fundamental in human thought must persuade him that they are both necessary and valid—not, as Freud would view them, merely childish illusions. From a psycho-therapist of Dr. Jung's experience, the following quotation has significance for science:

"Among all my patients in the second half of life—that is to say over thirty-five—there has not been one whose problem in the last resort was not that of finding a religious outlook in life. It is safe to say that every one of them fell ill because he had lost that which the living religions of every age have given their followers, and none of them has been really healed who did not regain his religious outlook. This of course has nothing whatsoever to do with a particular creed or membership in a church."

The attempt to explain man in terms of physical reactions, while denying the spirit, has merely driven spiritual yearnings into the subconscious. It is a law of psychology, says Jung, that "for every piece of conscious life that loses its importance and value, there rises a compensation in the unconscious. We may see in this an analogy to the conservation of energy in the physical world, for our psychic processes have a quantitative aspect also." The author has found such a psychology, which deals with psychic processes in the light of physical causes and ignores spiritual determinants, inadequate in the treatment of many of his patients. They are suffering from a want of meaning and value of life; they feel disoriented, restless, tense and confused. Explaining the cause of their unhappiness in terms of instincts may be of some help to them if they have enough will to do something about it. But "instinct" is as mysterious as "spirit," and a knowledge of the latter will yield better therapeutic results. Recognition of the sexual drive or the will to power is valuable if man is to be seen whole, but something more is needed. "The spirit of man yearns for an answer that will allay the turmoil of doubt and uncertainty."

Jung believes that Western civilization has been too absorbed in conquering the physical world. Religion has lost its former force; but he feels that necessity will bring forth other means of ministering to the soul. "It is," he says, "from the depths of our own psychic life that new spiritual forms will arise." C. B.

New Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis. By Sigmund Freud, M.D. W. W. Norton and Company. 257 pp. 1933.

Professor Freud offers this new collection of papers as "continuations and supplements" to his earlier *Introductory Lectures on Psycho-Analysis*. "They do not compose an independent whole," but are definitely to be studied in conjunction with his other work. They are, however, "addressed as much to the layman as to the specialist."

In his first chapter, Revision of the Theory of Dreams, the reader will find no radical departure from the fundamental theory of the wish-fulfilling function of dreams; the present discussion is, rather, an attempt to show how this function is extended to provide for a more complicated conception of the personality than previously described. Of special interest is the chapter on The Anatomy of the Mental Personality, wherein Professor Freud has expounded compactly his ego theory, not generally understood by lay readers of popular psychoanalysis, but of immense interest both philosophically and from the point of view of psychological interpretation. Similarly the material in his chapter on The Psychology of Women has never before been briefly assembled for the general reader. One doubts that this controversial point among analysts themselves is properly in place in a book for lay readers or that it can be intelligible at all to any but those who have a detailed personal knowledge of the technique and clinical findings of psychoanalysis.

Of the other papers the last, A Philosophy of Life, is especially worthy of attention because, while hardly a psychoanalytical contribution, it constitutes a fine statement of a scientist's attitude toward religion. Professor Freud reaffirms his secular position and his acceptance of the hints of scientific knowledge without recourse to "illusion," with a courage and simplicity not often encountered. A. W. W.

In the Magazines

The Child Who Worries. By Lorine Pruette. *The Parents' Magazine*, April 1934.

A child's health may be affected by worry over such things as failing to meet his parents' demands on him, frightening stories, true or imagined injustices, sex curiosity, disagreement between his parents, or money matters. Anxieties should be traced to their sources and discussed with the child as an aid to ridding him of undue concern.

Discipline: Strict or Lax? By Goodwin Watson and Zilpha Carruthers Franklin. *The Parents' Magazine*, April 1934.

An account of the results of a questionnaire given at Teachers College to discover the effects on children of strict and lax parental upbringing. The conclusions indicate that the "lax homes" may produce the more self-confident and well-balanced individuals.

Emotional Conflicts Between Husband and Wife. By Mary Luff. *The New Era*, March-April 1934.

"The relationship between the child's parents is an important factor in determining his ideas of social relationships in general." Subtle disagreements between parents, or a make-believe friendly relationship on their part endanger the child's security even more than open disagreement.

The Family and the Handicapped Child. By Edward Dyer Anderson. *Hygeia*, April 1934.

The disability of the handicapped child should be faced frankly by the parents, the other children in the family and the child himself. The mother of such a child should have outside interests, and the child should cultivate hobbies, and above all should be helped never to be ashamed of his disabilities.

The German Frauenfront. By Esther Caukin Brunauer. *Journal of the American Association of University Women*, April 1934.

An account of the history and present status of the women's organizations in Germany. The point is made that the banishment of women from public life is in reality oriental rather than Germanic, and thus counter to the "movement for national resurrection."

How One Children's Theatre Became Successful. By Beverley F. Freitag. *School and Society*, April 7, 1934.

A description of the plays produced by the pupils of the East School, Stoneham, Mass., with accounts of the ways in which the plays are managed so that every child participates.

Know the College by Its Catalog. By Christian Miller. *Scholastic*, April 14, 1934.

A very timely and helpful account of the most important items to be looked for in a college catalog, including: the training and the experience of the administrative staff and the faculty, distribution by rank of the faculty, aims and objectives of the institution and whether it keeps step with educational progress in such matters as preceptorial plans and honor courses. The importance of the accrediting of the institution by one of the regional standardizing bodies is also discussed and explained.

Parent Education in the Day Nursery. By Grace Langdon. *Day Nursery Bulletin. Publication of the Child Development Institute, Teachers College, Columbia University*, April 1934.

An account, with examples, of the ways in which a nursery school can educate parents to care for their children more intelligently.

When Should a Baby Talk? By Florence L. Goodenough. *The Parents' Magazine*, April 1934.

A baby does not really learn to talk until his own speech becomes meaningful to him. Before this stage his repetition of words is merely a trick. Some children learn to talk more slowly than others; some of the causes for seriously delayed speech are imperfect hearing or speech organs, or mental retardation.

Why Isn't Radio Better? By Merrill Denison. *Harpers*, April 1934.

Some reasons for the mediocrity of most radio programs are catering to the "lowest denominator of the mass mind," mass production and dependence on the taste of the sponsors. The author believes that only when the advertising sponsor has no more control over the content of radio programs than he has over the literary material in magazines and newspapers will the quality of programs improve.

Your Child and His School Marks. By Paul L. Essert. *Child Welfare*, April 1934.

Standards by which a child can measure his own growth in school achievements are advocated rather than those based on comparison with others. Parent-teacher groups should evaluate school subjects in the light of their ultimate usefulness to the children; they should outline the things which they wish the children's reports to tell them; and they should "stoutly refuse to encourage artificial stimulation to competitive evaluation."

News and Notes

Association Activities—1934-35

THE Child Study Association will open its forty-sixth season with a "Day at Headquarters" on Tuesday, October 16. Opportunity to learn of the Association's activities in this informal way proved so successful last fall at the first "Day at Headquarters" that it has been decided to carry out a similar, but still more representative, program. Demonstration study groups will be held in both the morning and afternoon and there will be exhibits of the work of the Association's various committees and departments. A tea and reception will follow.

Although final announcement regarding the Child Study Association's program of activities for 1934-5 will not be made until early fall, plans have already been completed for both study groups and special lectures and conferences. Throughout the week of October sixteenth, Headquarters will be open to visitors, and consultations with staff members may be arranged. It will also be possible to register for study groups at this time. The work of study groups continues to be the nucleus of the Association's activities. Groups are being planned which will offer practical help to parents with children of all ages. Groups are being organized around the following interests: introduction to parenthood, infancy, the pre-school child, the school age child and the adolescent. Opening meetings will be held during the week beginning Monday, October 22.

The Association's lecture program offers outstanding presentations of important problems in child training in which parents have expressed special interest. A particularly interesting feature, which has grown out of a briefer series of meetings held this year, will be a lecture course on Religious Education; the discussion will be organized around the individual's need of religious experience rather than around specific creeds. The year's program will also include a luncheon meeting on Radio Programs for Children, and three lectures—on The Gifted Child, on Emotional Adjustments of Late Adolescence, and on Recent Research in Relation to Physical Growth and Development. Speakers will be announced in the annual program which will be mailed to members of the Association about the middle of

September. The program will also be sent upon request to others interested in receiving it. Address the Executive Secretary, Child Study Association of America, 221 West 57 Street, New York.

Both the Summer Play Schools Committee and the Inter-community Child Study Committee of the Child Study Association will hold their annual meetings during May.

The Inter-community Child Study Committee will hold its sixth annual meeting at Association Headquarters on May 19. A business meeting will be held in the morning and in the afternoon there will be a Conference with Ambrose Caliver, Franklin O. Nichols and Sidonie M. Gruenberg as speakers. A dinner at the West Side Y. M. C. A. will follow, at which Fritz Wittels, M.D. will be the speaker.

The Summer Play Schools Conference will be held on May 26 at 10:30 a. m. at the Women's University Club with Mrs. Fred M. Stein presiding. "Morale in the Classroom" will be the subject of the morning discussion with Mrs. Howard S. Gans as chairman, George K. Pratt, M.D. as speaker and Joseph H. Jablonower and Helen Christiansen as discussion leaders. Following a luncheon meeting, Harold Campbell, recently appointed Superintendent of Schools of New York City, will talk on "New Demands Challenge the School," and Sidonie M. Gruenberg, on "The Role of the Family in Times of Stress." Mrs. Everett Dean Martin will act as chairman and LeRoy E. Bowman as discussion leader.

Further information regarding both meetings may be secured from Association Headquarters.

The friends of Harriet M. Johnson, Memorial to whose death occurred in March 1934, wish to show their appreciation of her splendid service to the nursery school movement through a Harriet Johnson Memorial Fund. This fund will be used for continuing and enlarging the projects which Miss Johnson began in nursery school experimental work in New York. As Director of the Nursery School under the Bureau of Educational Experiments, Miss Johnson had become a national figure in nursery education, and her book *Children in the Nursery School* is recog-

nized as a standard guide in its field. Her research into the complexities of children's growth has been the foundation upon which the Bureau of Educational Experiments has built many of its programs. Hereafter, this Nursery School, to which Miss Johnson had devoted her interests since 1916, will be known as the Harriet Johnson Nursery School and the Memorial Fund will be used to finance its program for the next two years. Among those serving on the Committee are Winifred Lenihan, chairman, John Dewey, Caroline Pratt, Elizabeth Irwin, Patty Smith Hill, Edith Lincoln and Rose Alschuler. Inquiries and pledges may be addressed to Miss Lenihan at 69 Bank Street, N. Y.

Coming Conferences Problems of child education arising from the changing social and economic order will be stressed in many conferences to be held during the coming months by various organizations interested in child welfare.

"The Young Child in the New Social Order" is the theme of the forty-first Annual Convention of the Association for Childhood Education to be held at Nashville, Tenn., May 2-5. Intensive study groups under the supervision of outstanding leaders in child education will be held each morning, and specific questions from members of the groups will be given consideration. Further information may be obtained from the Association for Childhood Education, 1201 Sixteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

The educational issues of the New Deal and the implications arising from the National Emergency Education Program will be the keynote of the eighth Iowa Conference on Child Development, to be held in Iowa City, June 19-21. The Iowa State Council for Child Study is sponsoring the conference with the cooperation of the Iowa Child Welfare Research Station and extension divisions of the State University of Iowa. Speakers will include William E. Blatz, Paul H. Douglas, Agnes Samuelson, David M. Trout, Edna N. White, George F. Zook and Frances Zuill.

Two international conferences dealing with child welfare will be held during the summer. The Congress for the Protection of Childhood convenes in Paris on July 4, and the International Conference of Government Delegates to examine the draft convention on educational films opens in Geneva on July 5.

The Psychological Institute of the University of Vienna will hold its third annual summer school in psychology for American students, from July 9 to August 9. The courses, which are given in English, include: Language and Personality, Childhood and Adolescence, Biographical Methods, Viennese Tests for Children, Experimental Psychology, Business and Social Psychology. Karl and Charlotte Buehler will

be among the instructors. The University of Kentucky is again supervising these courses and will grant six semester hours of university credit for work done at Vienna. Particulars may be obtained from the Educational Director, Dr. Henry Beaumont, University of Kentucky, Lexington, Ky.

The University of North Carolina will hold a special one-week course from July 16 to 21, on the methodology of instruction in preparation for marriage. This course will be under the direction of Professor Ernest R. Groves, and will be open to college instructors interested in courses dealing with marriage problems and also to members of the legal, medical and theological professions.

The Fourth Annual Conference on Current Problems sponsored by the New York *Herald-Tribune* will be held at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel, New York, on September 26 and 27. A complete announcement of the speakers who will participate and the subjects to be presented will be made late in August.

**Training the
Citizens of the
Future**

"Civics As It Should Be Taught" is the title of a pamphlet recently published by the National Self Government Committee as part of its effort

"voters not merely giving lip service to the Constitution and laws but alive to the tricks of the politicians and bosses and keen to beat them." The author, Richard Welding, Chairman of the Committee, calls attention to abuses in municipal politics, and suggests that civics should be taught on the basis of present conditions rather than of abstract ideals. Thus the students, according to Mr. Welding, should be given actual examples of how racketeers operate; they should be told frankly why governmental costs are exorbitant and why crime flourishes. Practical lessons drawn from present conditions as well as actual experience in managing student politics would, he believes, help young citizens to gain a knowledge of the technique of politics, inspiring them later to take an effective part in local affairs for the good of their own communities.

RADIO PROGRAMS

WEVD Wed., May 16 8-8:15 p. m.
 SIDONIE M. GRUENBERG
 ERNEST OSBORNE

WEAF Mon., May 28 1:30-2 p.m.
HEALTH AND PERSONALITY—A Symposium

IRA S. WILE, Coordinator
BRUCE ROBINSON
RUTH BRICKNER
BENJAMIN C. GRUENBERG

CHILD STUDY ASSOCIATION

Spring Books for Children

The Junior Gardener. By Dorothy Greene and Rosetta Goldsmith. Vanguard Press. 64 pp. \$1.25. 1934.

The subject of gardens in springtime is perennial as the flowers themselves. Here is a little book of gardening suggestions and instructions which should prove both stimulating and helpful. Despite its somewhat too juvenile format and manuscript type, it can be used by children of nine or even older, with a minimum of adult supervision and very little expense. There are practical suggestions for the selection, planning and care of a small garden of vegetables as well as flowers. There is a section on cut flower arrangement indoors, and gay pen-and-ink sketches which are both attractive and helpful. Altogether it is a charming little book especially needed and welcome because its directions and suggestions are just enough to encourage—and not enough to overwhelm—the young beginner in gardening.

H. W. F.

The Story-Telling Hour. Edited for the New York Story League by Carolyn S. Bailey. Dodd, Mead and Co. 252 pp. \$2.00. 1934.

This volume, though not addressed to children, will prove to be an invaluable guide and source book, as well as an inspiration to the story teller or leader of children's dramatics. It is a most welcome and needed compilation of story material of all types for all ages from nursery through adult years, selected and arranged by one of the most beloved of children's story-tellers. The material includes chapters on story telling, ghost stories, fairy stories, poetry and drama. Each chapter contains, along with its discussion of the subject, an outstandingly good story of the type and an excellent reference list of others.

E. G.

More About Animals. By Margery Bianco. The Macmillan Co. 115 pages. \$1.75. 1934.

Mrs. Bianco tells, with charm and understanding, fifteen stories of personal experiences with animals, including dogs, cats, horses, a pet crow, a skunk, moths and spiders. There is in her telling a warmth and intimate touch that will endear these creatures to children, especially to those whose own experiences will add to it the pleasure of recognition. The stories are just long enough to be read aloud to children of from five to ten, and easy enough to be enjoyed alone by the youthful reader past his earliest reading struggles and safely landed at third grade level.

F. S. S.

Songs of Wild Birds. By Albert Brand. Thomas Nelson. 91 pp. \$2.00. 1934.

A book which tells specifically about the songs of birds is a completely new approach to bird study and meets one of the chief problems of the amateur. The inclusion here of two double-faced victrola records, which reproduce the songs of thirty-five birds, makes it possible for the beginner to familiarize himself with the songs of the birds before going out into the fields and woods to identify them. Although the descriptive text which accompanies each record, and the discussion on "The How and Why of Bird Song," are intended for mature readers, the book is, nevertheless, a particularly valuable contribution for the child in whom it may foster a lasting interest.

C. G. E.

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Where Do We Go From Here?

(Continued from page 245)

are ready, he says. Are parents and educators prepared to cooperate?

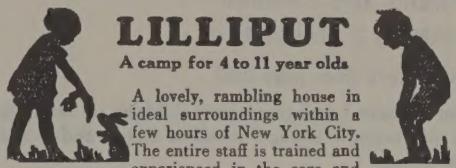
"A small but steadily increasing number of college students is becoming more socially minded. Determinedly, almost imperceptibly, they are making of the college campus and college facilities a real training ground for their future participation in world affairs.

"Educators can help by abolishing the present system of grades wherein memorization often counts more than applicable knowledge, by conducting college courses with a view to presentday problems, and by generally awakening the student to a realization of his responsibilities in our economic and social order. Progressive reforms in education coming from parents' demands and the influence of conscientious educators will enable the student to make of himself a broad-minded, intelligent citizen while he is in college. Parents and educators must see to it that the freedom and responsibility which young people need to develop into real citizens are given them by changes in the administration of college courses."

It would not be possible to summarize all these reactions except as they have summarized themselves by taking the job as their lowest common denominator. But perhaps if the graduates of 1934 could select only a single spokesman, they would all—the optimistic and the pessimistic, the philosophical and the practical—be more or less willing to accept one of their more experienced fellows, who writes with somewhat cynical buoyancy:

"It's not my depression. In 1929 we were strangers, in 1931 I hated it, in 1932 I was resigned to it, and in 1934 I am thankful for it. Why? Here's my story: I couldn't afford a university education in good times. I had to do a little breadwinning, and bread cost a lot in those days. I did well for a few years, exceptionally well, it seems now, but as things began to fall apart I dropped out of my petty haven and bounced—not once, but many times. After trying one thing after another to keep out of breadlines, I found myself registering at a college for the sole purpose of earning \$15 a week as a musician in a collegiate band.

"I'm glad I bounced. I've got a different attitude toward life. The world has changed a lot since folks were busy building two-car garages. I'm a poor boy and always have been one, but in 1934 there's no such stigma to being poor as there was in the palmy days. Anyway, I like to think that I'm getting in on the ground floor of a new era—getting chances that haven't been available since little Johnny Morgan stopped pitching pennies and went to clipping coupons. It's a pretty thought, and I'm willing to gamble on it."



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Parents and Children

MARION E. KENWORTHY

(Continued from page 232)

but we have found that where children are really free it may begin at two and a half or three—and so much the better.

There need be nothing terrifying in this prospect to mature parents who have no cause to be frightened by the girl turning to the father or the boy to the mother. Yet one charming mother, who has an equally charming daughter, feels that the father is too proud of her and treats her too nicely. She says that when the daughter gets old enough to have boy friends, she is going to try to lure all her boy friends away. The mature mother, on the other hand, realizes that this rival young daughter actually has no impulse to dispossess her, although she may sometimes say "I wish you were dead!" or "You let me do things for daddy that you do, and I'll let you do what I'm supposed to do." She is not afraid of the child's feelings because she realizes that they are part of a normal development. She welcomes their frank expression because it shows that the youngster is secure and is achieving one of the most significant of life adjustments. She avoids giving the child a sense of guilt about these wishes. If the mother laughs at the child, if she says, "You're too little," she tells her at once that she has said something she should have left unsaid; that her love for her father is something her mother dislikes.

The boy goes through a parallel adjustment. He will frequently say to his father, "You don't love mother half as much as I do." Or if he finds his mother and father together he will push them apart and put his arms around his mother, in effect, saying to the father, "You may go." Depending on his own sense of security, the father will see that this is a perfectly simple, normal attitude, or he will mismanage it until it becomes a bitter lifelong rivalry.

In one case a father hides his own feelings of rivalry behind a grave solicitude for his son's good behavior toward the mother.

Night after night he asks as soon as he gets home, "Have you been a good boy? Have you done everything your mother told you to today?"

The son, who is nine and a half, hates his father almost as much as the father, unconsciously, hates him.

"If I were only big enough for just one minute I'd At nine he has not the words to express his bitterness.

But when a child senses that there is a real love relationship between his parents, he can afford to love his mother best one minute and his father best the

next, knowing intuitively that they both accept his love for what it is. If, however, either parent is unsatisfied, there develops a bi-polarized response. As the parent moves toward the child for emotional support, the child moves toward the parent whose emotional response to him is the more highly charged, and the other parent is left on the outside looking in.

Out of his experience in identifying himself with the parent of the same sex and establishing a love relationship for the other parent, the child gradually frees himself from his dependency on both parents, so that he can in due course fall in love with someone who will be a real mate. Where there are well-balanced, mature parents, where there are several children, these steps follow so naturally that there is little need for conscious direction. There are still many failures, but much has been accomplished in the last twenty years because individual parents are more anxious to do a good job, even though they were not privileged to grow up in a mature relationship to their own parents.

We need to face these problems honestly; but we may be cheered by the reflection that life is not as unpromising as it sometimes seems. Human living and feeling have a dynamic capacity for growth. Normally we continue to develop in our powers of emotional adaptation. Therefore, even though we are burdened with our own early conflicts, our problem as parents need not be either chronic or incurable. In life we all have to meet a normal series of frustrations, and normally we meet them with a hostile or resentful attitude. And yet as we become more mature this very resentment becomes constructive; in attempting to adjust to frustration we either adapt ourselves to it or bend it to serve our own ends.

In this brief and perhaps over-simplified discussion it has been impossible to go fully into any of the problems described, or even to include all their familiar variations. I have tried simply to suggest where, in the parent-child experience, conflicts may be made, why they are made, and how they can perhaps be prevented or resolved. All of our current concern about adolescent problems, for instance, is an index of our failure to do an adequate job before the child comes to adolescence. We have at least reached a point where we can look forward to a time when more parents and children will live their early years together in as wholesome a relationship as some few have always achieved. As our understanding grows, we shall see fewer destructive conflicts not only in adolescence, but also in business, in marriage and in parenthood.

This article is based on a much more detailed presentation given by Dr. Kenworthy in a series of four lectures on *The Development of Personality* at Child Study Association Headquarters during March.

